

under President Clinton, tax levels approaching the level we have today.

Now, in terms of this "dangerous" tax cut, this is probably the most telling chart of all. The day Bill Clinton became President, the Federal Government was taking 17.8 cents out of every dollar earned by every American in Federal taxes. Today, we are near an all-time record of 20.6 cents out of every dollar earned by every American. Hence, since Bill Clinton has been President, with the 1993 tax increase as people have moved into higher tax brackets, the tax take on the American people has grown from 17.8 to 20.6 percent.

Now, if we took every penny of the non-Social Security surplus, which is \$1 trillion, under current services, actually, bigger if you take a spending freeze, but if we took every penny of that, and we are not proposing that here—we are talking about \$792 billion, not over \$1 trillion—but if we took the entire trillion and gave it back in tax cuts, 10 years from now, when that tax cut is fully implemented, taxes would still be 18.8 percent of the economy, and taxes would still be substantially above where they were the day Bill Clinton became President.

So when he is calling this tax cut "dangerous and huge," it is a tax cut that would not get us back, in terms of tax burden, to where we were the day Bill Clinton became President. It would still mean the tax burden during the Clinton administration, even with this tax cut, would have grown by more than in any modern Presidency.

Let me address the idea that this is a huge, dangerous tax cut. It is very interesting how people make up these things and nobody goes and looks it up. But let me give you some figures.

We are projecting next year, the first year of this tax cut, that revenues are going to be \$1.9 trillion. We are going to collect that much in taxes. This tax cut next year is a whopping \$4 billion. So out of \$1.905 trillion of taxes we are going to collect, this would give \$4 billion back. That is .21 percent. Now, that is the "huge, dangerous" tax cut about which we are talking. It is implemented over a 10-year period. But over that entire period, what is being called a "dangerous" tax cut would reduce taxes on the American people by 3.48 percent. So it is less than a 3.5-percent reduction in taxes, far less than President Clinton would increase government spending. I remind my colleagues, and somehow that is "dangerous."

Well, it is dangerous if you are Bill Clinton, because if we give this money back to the American people, he can't spend it. There are 81 programs he would like to have that he won't get. What the President should be asking, rather than misleading people, is: Here are my 81 programs. This is what I am going to do for you. I love you and this is what we are going to do for you. And we ought to be forced to say: We are going to give you this tax cut, and we

are going to let you decide how to spend it.

The people could look at the President's 81 programs and look at our tax cut and they can say, "I would rather President Clinton do it," or "I would rather do it myself." That is the legitimate debate we ought to be having. But we are not having it because the White House continues to mislead the American public.

Let me make a few other points. Our colleagues keep talking about tax cuts for the rich. I have noticed there is a code here: Any tax cut is for the rich. Any tax increase is a tax on the rich.

So when the Democrats pushed through the largest tax increase in American history when they last had a majority, in 1993, that was a tax on the rich. Remember? Well, it raised taxes on gasoline for everybody. Do only rich people drive cars and trucks? I don't think so. It defined as "rich" anybody who made \$25,000 a year or more because that is the tax it put on Social Security. Now, I don't know about some of the States that people may represent, but where I am from, \$25,000 a year is not rich. But to our Democrat colleagues, obviously, since the Clinton tax increase was a tax on the rich, \$25,000 in income made you rich.

According to them, our tax cut is for rich people. They get very excited about the fact that they have discovered when you cut taxes, people who don't pay income taxes don't get tax cuts. In fact, they will point out, I am sure a hundred times here, that 32 percent of American families pay no income taxes, which I personally think is an outrage. I think everybody ought to pay something. But 32 percent of American families pay no income taxes, and their obvious question is: Well, under your tax cut, 32 percent of families don't get a tax cut; how can that be fair?

Let me explain why it is fair. These taxpayers don't get food stamps, the great majority of them. They don't get Medicaid. And unless they are elderly, they don't get Medicare. They don't qualify for those programs. Our point is that tax cuts are for taxpayers. When we are cutting taxes, if you don't pay income taxes, you should not expect to get a tax cut.

Some of our colleagues would like you to believe the Roth package benefits the rich relative to the poor. Well, the plain truth is that the Roth package makes the tax system more progressive, not less progressive. Now, it is true that when you cut taxes, people who pay taxes get to keep more; people who don't pay taxes don't get a tax cut. But our colleagues have basically discovered that, over the years, we have made the tax code more and more and more progressive. In fact, today, the top 50 percent of income earners in America pay 99 percent of the income taxes. So is anybody surprised that, when the top 50 percent pay 99 percent of the income taxes, that when you cut income taxes, the top 50 percent tend

to get more tax cuts? In fact, our colleagues like to rant and rave about across-the-board tax cuts by saying, well, a 10-percent tax cut means that Senator ROCKEFELLER, who pays at least 10 times as much in taxes as I do, would get 10 times as big a tax cut.

I am not offended by that. If he pays 10 times as much, and we have an across-the-board cut, he would get 10 times as big a tax cut.

Let me run over these figures real quickly so people understand.

The top 1 percent of income earners in America earn 16 percent of all the income earned, but they pay 32.3 percent of all the taxes.

The top 5 percent earn 30.4 percent of all the income earned, but they pay 50.8 percent of the taxes.

The top 10 percent earn 41.6 percent of the income earned, but they pay 62.4 percent of the taxes.

Should anybody be shocked when you cut taxes, when the upper 50 percent of American income earners pay 99 percent of the taxes, and they are going to get most of the tax cut?

Only our Democrat colleagues and the President would be outraged about that. Our view is that tax cuts are for taxpayers.

Who is rich? I decided to look at this top 50 percent of income earners and basically ask: Who are these rich people who the Democrats think should not get a tax cut?

Let me go down who they are.

They are the 50 percent of people who pay roughly 99 percent of the income taxes.

They are 62 percent of all homeowners in America. They are 66 percent of all people between the age of 45 and 64. They are 67 percent of all full-time workers in America. They are 68 percent of all workers who went to college. They are 69 percent of all married couples. And they are 80 percent of all two-earner households in America.

These are the people who the Democrats tell us are unworthy and should get no tax cut—that these are rich people and they deserve no tax cut. They pay 99 percent of the income taxes, but they deserve no tax cut.

Let me tell you what the code is. The Democrats are always for a tax increase, and the tax increase, no matter who it is imposed on, is always a tax on the rich. They are always against the tax cut, and the tax cut always goes to the rich, and that is basically the code.

When you break through the code, the code is they are for tax increases. They are not for tax cuts because they believe the Government can do a better job of spending your money than you can.

The final two points: We often hear from our colleagues that this is the worst tax cut since the Reagan tax cut of 1981. This is the worst tax since the Reagan tax cut. Do we want to do it again?

Let me remind my colleagues the day Ronald Reagan became President, an average family in America making